

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 SAJ-01 OES-03 /068 W

----- 063232

R 301112Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3956

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

CINC EUR VAIHINGEN

CINC USAREUR HEIDELBERG

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CINC EUR VAIHINGEN FOR POLAD

CINC USAREUR HEIDELBERG FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: CDU/CSU PROBLEMS WITH POLISH TREATIES

BEGIN SUMMARY: CDU/CSU CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE HELMUT

KOHL ANNOUNCED OCTOBER 28 HE HAD RECOMMENDED THAT

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THE CDU/CSU FRAKTION IN THE BUNDESTAG VOTE AGAINST THE

POLISH TREATIES AND THAT RHINELAND-PALATINATE WOULD VOTE AGAINST THE TREATIES IN THE BUNDES RAT. KOHL LEFT THE DOOR OPEN, HOWEVER, FOR DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE UNION RANKS. KOHL'S ANNOUNCEMENT FOLLOWED THE DISCLOSURE LAST WEEK THAT FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS HAD WRITTEN A LETTER TO THE CDU/CSU MINISTER PRESIDENTS AND ALL OPPOSITION MEMBERS OF THE BUNDESTAG, RECOMMENDING THAT THE UNION UNANIMOUSLY REJECT THE TREATIES. SPD AND FDP SPOKESMEN ACCUSED KOHL OF CAPITULATING TO PRESSURES FROM STRAUSS. DESPITE STRAUSS' AND KOHL'S OPPOSITION TO THE TREATIES IT REMAINS POSSIBLE THAT THE CDU/CSU LAENDER IN THE BUNDES RAT MAY BREAK RANKS ON THIS ISSUE. END SUMMARY

1. FOLLOWING A MEETING OF THE CDU/CSU BUNDESTAG FRAKTION OCTOBER 28, OPPOSITION CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE KOHL ANNOUNCED HE HAD RECOMMENDED THAT THE FRAKTION REJECT THE POLISH TREATIES. SPEAKING ALSO IN HIS CAPACITY AS MINISTER PRESIDENT, HE SAID THAT THE RHINE-LAND-PALATINATE WOULD VOTE AGAINST THE TREATIES IN THE BUNDES RAT. KOHL BASED HIS OPPOSITION TO THE TREATIES ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS: (A) THE TREATIES WERE BADLY NEGOTIATED AND DID NOT PROTECT GERMAN INTERESTS; (B) THE PROTOCOL PERMITTING THE EMIGRATION OF GERMANS FROM POLAND DID NOT HAVE THE SAME BINDING CHARACTER AS THE TREATIES; (C) THERE WERE NO PROVISIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE REMAINING 160,000 GERMANS IN POLAND; (D) IN AGREEING TO FINANCIAL CREDITS THE FRG HAD NOT OBTAINED GUARANTEES FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE GERMAN MINORITY IN POLAND; AND (E) THE TREATIES SET A BAD PRECEDENT WHICH COULD PERMIT OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO MAKE SIMILAR DEMANDS ON THE FRG.

2. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF KOHL'S DECISION FOLLOWED THE DISCLOSURE LAST WEEK OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY CSU CHAIRMAN STRAUSS TO THE CDU/CSU MINISTER PRESIDENTS AND ALL OPPOSITION MEMBERS OF THE BUNDESTAG. STRAUSS URGED THAT THE UNION PARTIES DISPLAY SOLIDARITY BY UNANIMOUSLY REJECTING THE TREATIES. IN THE LETTER STRAUSS REASONED THAT THE 1972 ELECTION RESULTS DEMONSTRATED THAT THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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VOTERS EXPECTED THE CDU/CSU TO PROVIDE A CLEAR ALTERNATIVE TO THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SPD/FDP COALITION GOVERNMENT.

3. IN ANNOUNCING HIS OPPOSITION TO THE TREATIES, KOHL LEFT THE DOOR OPEN FOR DISSENTERS WITHIN THE UNION PARTIES. HE SAID THAT HE RESPECTED THE OPINION OF THOSE CDU DEPUTIES (SUCH AS SCHROEDER, VON WEIZSAECKER, KIEP)

WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WOULD VOTE FOR  
THE TREATIES ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS. IT IS CLEAR THAT  
KOHL WANTS TO AVOID THE INTERNAL PARTY BLOODLETTING  
WHICH FOLLOWED THE DISPUTE OVER THE EASTERN TREATIES IN  
1972.

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

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R 301112Z OCT 75  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
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AMEMBASSY ROME  
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
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4. IN A CONVERSATION ON OCT. 25 WITH THE AMBASSADOR

ON OTHER SUBJECTS, FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER SCHROEDER CONFIRMED HIS INTENTION TO VOTE FOR THE TREATIES. HE SAID THERE WERE EIGHT OR TEN OTHER CDU DEPUTIES WHO ALSO PLANNED TO VOTE FOR THE TREATIES. HOWEVER, WITH A SMILE, HE REMARKED THAT HE WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO

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EXERCISE PARTY DISCIPLINE ON THE SMALL GROUP OF DIS-  
SENTERS IN FACE OF THE HEAVY CONTRARY PRESSURE.

5. DESPITE THE KOHL-STRAUSS OPPOSITION TO THE TREATIES IT IS NOT CERTAIN THAT THE CDU/CSU LAENDER IN THE BUN-  
DESRAT WILL VOTE AS A BLOC AGAINST THE TREATIES. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE SAARLAND IS CONSIDERING VOTING FOR THE TREATIES. ALTHOUGH SAARLAND CDU POLITICIANS DENY THAT A DECISION TO VOTE FOR THE TREATIES WOULD BE AFFECTED BY THE NEED FOR FDP SUPPORT FOR THE BUDGET IN THE LANDTAG, SUCH A CONSIDERATION IS VERY LIKELY TO PLAY A ROLE IN DETERMINING THE SAARLAND'S POSITION ON THE ISSUE. THERE ARE ALSO RUMORS THAT SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN MIGHT BREAK RANKS AND VOTE FOR THE TREATIES IN THE BUN-  
DESRAT.

6. FOLLOWING KOHL'S STATEMENT SPD CHAIRMAN WILLY BRANDT AND FDP FRAKTION CHAIRMAN MISCHNICK WERE QUICK TO ACCUSE KOHL OF CAPITULATING TO PRESSURE FROM STRAUSS. THE COALITION PARTNERS WOULD WELCOME A REPEAT OF THE 1972 ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN WHICH THEY COULD ACCUSE THE CDU OF ATTEMPTING TO RESURRECT THE COLD WAR. SPD BUSINESS MANAGER BOERNER TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER WITH SOME GLEE THAT KOHL'S STATEMENT WAS PROOF THAT THE CDU HAD LEARNED NOTHING FROM ITS DISASTROUS PERFORMANCE IN THE 1972 ELECTION.

7. THE DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE OPPOSITION OVER THE POLISH TREATIES IS SYMPTOMATIC OF THE UNION'S DIFFICULTY IN COMING TO GRIPS WITH OSTPOLITIK. NOT ONLY IS THERE A SIGNIFICANT DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE CSU AND THE CDU OVER OSTPOLITIK, BUT WITHIN THE CDU THERE ARE CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT WINGS. KOHL'S APPROACH--REJECTING THE TREATIES AND HOPEFULLY APPEASING STRAUSS WHILE PERMITTING DISSENT-  
MAY PREVENT AN OPEN SPLIT WITH THE CSU BUT IS NOT LIKELY TO SATISFY EVERYONE VERY MUCH. STRAUSS IS LIKELY TO VIEW KOHL'S TOLERANCE OF SCHROEDER, VON WEIZSAECKER, KIEP AND COMPANY AS A FURTHER INDICATION OF HIS WEAKNESS AS CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE, AND THE LIBERALS AND MODERATES IN THE CDU WILL FEEL THAT ONCE AGAIN KOHL HAS BOWED TO

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PRESSURE FROM THE BAVARIANS.

8. STRAUSS' CHOICE TO MAKE A GRANDSTAND PLAY BY SENDING A LETTER (THAT WAS BOUND TO BECOME PUBLIC) RATHER THAN WORKING QUIETLY BEHIND THE SCENES TO BUILD A SOLID FRONT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT WAS BOUND TO EMBARRASS KOHL. ONE OF KOHL'S ADVISERS TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT STRAUSS' BEHAVIOR ON THIS ISSUE AS WELL AS HIS FIGHT WITH BIEDEN-KOPF WERE ONLY EXPLICABLE IF ONE ASSUMES THAT STRAUSS DID NOT BELIEVE THE CDU/CSU CAN WIN THE ELECTION NEXT OCTOBER AND WAS CONCERNED WITH FORCING THE PARTY TO RETURN TO ITS CONSERVATIVE ROOTS EVEN IF SUCH A COURSE WOULD EMBARRASS THE CHANCELLOR CANDIDATE.

HILLENBRAND

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